1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 ●757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *lil·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *hil·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chrysus* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mũriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchimallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloß*.[11]

[11] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931a, p. 72.

1: Titiev [redacted]5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, conferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul'trun*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yopew* or *kofofan*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

[10] Hunse, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of machitun consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114–40; Munduch, 1930, pp. 350–70; Métraux, 1935, pp. 340–48; and Hunse, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303–81.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established machi. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had recourse to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *pangue* or lancet ; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *trapeline*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cultru*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *cher*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the machi expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trouru*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gutuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no machi begins his operations, is the *rechuidhuan*, or drum, inside of which are inserted small white stones, *kiuru*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The machis are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *ilmenge*. During the greater part of the machitun, or healing, they play on *pentilues*, or shrill reed pipes, while the machi beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

• [757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all illnesses and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not appear there as incongruous then to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own subjects or servants.

756 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or
753 some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements and and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the two-tree flood story, in several versions, the most complete only one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:2). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, tree-tree and kaikai. The higher kaikai ruined the waters, the higher did tree-tree raise the mountains on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, native animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Outes, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1918, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meulen and Shoopulliven previously mentioned (Native Religions, p. 748), Chonchi (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Wallipen (a calf-sheep), Pivichiben (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lemuru motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to jail. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of Araucanian folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 2:1:109–50, 243–62, animal stories; 2:2:691–710, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 219–49; 1911, pp. 99–117; Félix José, 1918, passim; Spaeth, 1924; Koessler, 1932.)

LORE AND SCIENCE

Science.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "deities." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1930, p. 83), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillán or vulcanil. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic divinations to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wine was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Outes (1930; cf. 1918–17) lists 224 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for ritual purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, anthelmintics, absorb- 824 757

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

Communication.—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (*pron*) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. *pron*; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder paratæ or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1912, pp. 206–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

were badly crippled," she said. " I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

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the machi and the one who grew with him; the name is true when the machi is first announced, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had bloodsplash for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chalchalcahuel. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my bloodsplash." In Alepún a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 752

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 824 755

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a number in a rules preparing an 755

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter stated that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of harder plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepún area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Arellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Bolán, found in growing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Others had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

—— Chilco, cultivated close to houses in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

—— Chilcón, found in pastureland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Espuela, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Pimpín, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after vomiting. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Llaupu. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Malva, del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who is 278
indoors sweats, as that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will 757
find that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well,
then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the malva, del monte onto
his scalp and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice
several times before his head feels better."

—— Rubib. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Pulqui, found near creeks. Burns are overlaid with its leaves. The juice of its
pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pulil, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomit-
ing, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Purilla, found in burnt-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for
dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

—— Pulsen, collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the bare skin where-
ever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

Pillapilla, found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little
piece of cloth and laid upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

Quilmay, found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with
salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt
is put into an aching ear.

Quilquil, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns.
The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Ramtun, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a
boil or any swelling; reduces either.

—— Wild kanlin, found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery.
It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

—— Waikuen. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of
its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also
used as a love charm. Cf. p. 137.)

My inability to obtain Araucanian names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chileans and is not part of the traditional Araucanian pharmacology.

Huelle, found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to reduce fever.

Trihue, found in dry cut-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Tirihi del chorrolongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally reduces fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alepún area are the maewida (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the pillalilli-huil (the informant would tell only that a lukewarm decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

278 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes
●757 (Pangipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canelo. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

—— Chañchañ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."

Huinche grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."

—— Kurakuñi. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of kurakuñi have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

—— Maliñó. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that maliñó hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with culén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.

Salvo del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanil, on the hot stones."

Toronjil. A decoction of it and culén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toronjil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are often spoken of as yerbateras (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martin de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies. Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

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Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever.

Canchu. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it."

Crochilla (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is positioned against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Pacala. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Limpia pieta, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llantén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Llinto or senancay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Maqui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and aids diuresis.

Natri. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach ache and reduces fever.

Nunca. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Palca. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk aids vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Palil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It soothes open wounds when poured into them.

Pavonela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Pierilla and mico. A decoction made of leaves and stems of pierilla and of roots of mico is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of mico alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pinito de tres cantos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Polco (an unidentified mint, "with leaves a little smaller than those of oregano"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach ache.

Quilloy, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quilloi (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Retamilla or hediondilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and fever ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Roble chileno. A decoction of its cores—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whose chest a tree has fallen."

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Sage. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are pushed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

Toromjil. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant mulle; in Chile it is called toromjil cuyano."

Underscented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

Note: Juices are extracted from plants either by scraping or pounding them; by crushing them in the palms of the hands; or by rubbing them by rotating the palms, one over the other, with a circular motion; or mashing them with the fist of one hand in the palm of the other hand. Powder is obtained by pounding dried plants between stones. (See Appendix B for other plants used by the Araucanians.)

Curative household measures not related to plants are the following:

A burn is overlaid with a wool of wool saturated with blood from a slight incision made in the comb of a chicken.

Kerosene is poured into an open wound.

A thin slice of meat, slightly heated in the fire and rubbed in with salt, is applied to a bruise, "including a blue eye."

Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

A broken arm or leg is tied between straight slender branches of a tree.

Formerly, the meat of a dog, not yet a year old, was eaten to cure stomach ailments. Stomach troubles were also alleviated by drinking water containing the scrapings of blue stones, "the ones that fall during a thunderstorm." "My mother has two of these stones, very dark blue ones, which she used in this way."

The bite of any large animal mixed with sheep water taken orally brings a boil to a head.

Bad blood thought to be due to sickness is let flow through a pierced needle in the upper layer of the skin of the parent's hand.

A 65-year-old man had wound red yarn around his painful wrist. "I saw a resident Argentine do this, south of here where we were shearing sheep. Since it gave him relief, I thought I would try it."

No remedy for toothache was known. An aching tooth was pulled—"but we seldom have a toothache. My daughter there [14 years old] and my son [25 years old] have never had a toothache. I [82 years old] had my first tooth pulled recently—it was a loose tooth. I loosened it by stretching leather. We stretch leather by holding it taut with the teeth and pulling it with both hands." [28] Eating sweet raw is thought to keep teeth intact.

No remedy for goiters is known. "Not even the remedies used by the Argentines help us. Formerly we had no goiters." Persons with goiters—men and women of all ages and adolescent boys and girls as well—were seen in all areas visited.

Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)

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Mapuche

The syringe and the aspirin combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the native cures, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *fayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult coresidents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of washing the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that soaking the corpse was once common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is impossible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things.

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things.

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams.

This machi also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the pillan. He would visit a very sick person in his home, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a matrona, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi.